584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsöm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžila, especially the older ones, the

[802]
[211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

861 867 13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreatment [762] she might take her life, something which does indeed happen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

861 593 The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and it is the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaġa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaġa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
824 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoġ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ more than another, because a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengañ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, éwɔ̂mɔ̂lɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and étôtôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

754 777 akum • he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of